some extent. For immediate use, water is dipped into one of a number of quart jugs, an unfired cream-coloured vessel with a wide body, a long narrow neck, and a flaring mouth, turned on the wheel and imported commercially from Rowal. For further cleansing, a piece of cheesecloth is often tied over the mouth of these jugs. Glass tumblers are used to serve water, and, if it is offered to a number of guests, it is necessary that the glass be cleaned after each person has used it. This is done by pouring out a little from the jug, circulating it in the glass, and tossing it on the earthen floor or into the courtyard. The water in the basin is not used for drinking, but for a variety of other purposes, washing cooking utensils and dishes, bathing infants, laundry, and so on.

It is interesting that the public bath, the hammam, so much a feature of life in Medieval and Ottoman times, has largely disappeared in modern Kurdistan.[1] Bathing in Rowandus is confined to private houses, and there is no place in the town, including the khan or hotel, where a person might obtain bathing facilities for a price. The larger houses contain a closet or a small room for this purpose, and the bather is furnished with a basket or jar of water which he pours over himself with a dipper of some sort, usually a tin can. Waste runs out through a drain in the floor. Toilet facilities are also to be found in

[1]Hesabert, 1951, p. 175.

a closet or booth, usually on the first floor of the house, with a door, as in the case of the bath, of wooden planks or a cloth hanging. This booth contains little more than a slit trench, perpendicular to the entrance, leading down into the foundations of the house and ultimately outside, and a metal ewer, a long-necked vessel with a capacity of about a pint, containing water. The left hand is used for cleansing, and, while never so stringently observed as among certain Arab groups, it is considered impolite to use it in formal dining, save in tearing apart food, although everyday practice admits considerable latitude.

Interior lighting is furnished by fuel lamps. Before the first World War, a kerosene lantern, described as "Hungarian," was in use, imported together with its fuel from Russia through Iran. Since that time, a new and brighter type of lamp, making use of gasoline put under pressure by an attached pneumatic pumping device, has come into use in the wealthier homes. In a number of the poorer houses a small, simple oil lamp, which provides only a feeble glow, is utilized as an occasional night light. Here during Ramadan, when one or two meals are taken during the evening, most of the houses are completely darkened even after nightfall. Heating during winter does not receive systematic attention, although the wealthy make use of kerosene stoves. The general remedy is to don additional clothing. The larger houses have a woodpile,

Iraq, and that which is European. It need not be thought 291
that the Kurdish element is something wholly unique, for [178]
there is an abundance of evidence, for example, almost any
Persian miniature painting, to indicate that colourful dyes,
if not the styles themselves, had a greater province in
centuries gone by than are in evidence today, a change
bound up in the impoverishment of the area and coupled
with the impact of European civilization.

Turning first to the Kurdish townsmen of Rowandus,
dressed in native clothing, the basic undergarment is a
pair of baggy, white cotton drawers, bound at the waist
by a draw-string, which fall a few inches below the knees.
A cotton undershirt may or may not be worn, and the next
mandatory item is a white cotton shirt without a collar,
closed at the neck by a series of round cloth buttons.
The salient characteristic of this shirt is its sleeve which
extends almost a foot beyond the wrist and is split to the
elbow. When a jacket is worn, this long end is turned
back and tied around the forearm, just below the elbow.
For washing, or for fighting, the two ends are tied to- [515]
gether behind the neck, drawing up the sleeves of both [579]
shirt and jacket above the elbows. A sleeveless vest,
of European style and fastened with a number of buttons,
is often worn over the shirt. Its fabric is either
identical with the jacket or of striped cotton, but it
is not exposed to view in outdoor attire.

The outer garments consist of trousers and jacket,

white cotton trousers and shirts, similar to the under- 291
garments of adults, and the students like to add a cloth European jacket. The dress of the children of officials and officers is much like that of their Kurdish playfellows, at the same time more European in character, particularly for the boys who sometimes wear cloaks and jackets. Almost all of the youth go barefoot a large part of the time, although sandals or shoes appear in the winter, usually without stockings. The infants and [854]
younger children are confined to the houses in extremely cold weather, and the problem for them does not exist. There is no specific time at which a youth or a maiden must put on adult attire. In the case of a girl, the parents insist on the veil whenever they feel the neighbors "might talk" if it was not worn. For the boys, the adulation of weapons has already been noticed, and is coupled with a similar feeling toward the clothing of chieftains and their bodyguards, warriors full-blown in the eyes of adolescence. Hence the mother is under considerable pressure to influence the father for money to deck out his son in adult clothing. The young Kurd who 186
follows a government career in the secondary schools and 291
colleges of the cities soon learns to sublimate such notions to the condemning adjective <u>heleki</u>, "rustic," although he may retain a certain admiration for the dashing garb of the heroes of his youth.

A Kurdish townsman usually washes his hands and face 515
at least once or twice each day. One of the ceremonials of 264

a formal banquet involves cleansing. In entering to dine, certain persons, servants or children, pour water from a metal ewer above a basin over the hands of the guest, furnishing him soap and a towel. Each guest goes through this ritual before going to the table, in groups of two or three. It is repeated a second time when the meal is at an end. According to the direction of the Prophet, the Muslim worshipper must perform the "lesser ablution" (wudu), washing face, hands, and feet, before each of the five daily prayers. Because an observably large proportion of the populace, with no respect to social status, does not pray five times each day, it is difficult to form any idea of adherence. Similarly, the "greater ablution" (ghusl), a complete cleansing of the body, must be undertaken by Muslims after major pollutions, of which the commonest is sexual intercourse. An individual so concerned is nijis, "defiled" or "filthy," a violent term of abuse, until bathed, and requiring of a husband the number of baths he has taken in a given period is tantamount to asking how many times he has gone to his wife. It is thus almost impossible, outside of direct observation, to obtain anything other than hearsay on the bathing habits of married people. Nevertheless, it can be seen that most townsmen bathe in the summer at least once or twice each week. The nails are cut with a knife, and cleaned with the same instrument. The attention paid to the parings will be noted later.

515 ● [264]

[782]

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will offer a flower to a guest and the latter is expected 517
to enjoy it for a short time by holding it to his nostrils 824
before passing it to another. Young Kurdish dandies, not, 574
however, in Rowanduz, hold flowers to their faces on the streets of Baghdad or Mosul to circumvent the smells of the metropolis. Perfume of any sort, probably because of 302
its association with women, is abhorrent to Muslim puri- 562
tans, of whom there are a few in the town, and they avoid it with violent gestures and condemnation.

Because the ablutions before prayers, with some 515
reservation, apply to Muslims of both sexes, it is equally difficult to obtain an exact idea of the bathing habits of the townswomen. Unmarried girls are supposed to wash themselves completely twice or three times each week during the summer and once or twice each fortnight in colder weather. All of the hair of a woman's body must 302
be removed: the pubic hair with a razor, that under the arms with the fingers, and the rest with a depilatory concocted of sugar and gum arabic. In addition, the ankles [515]
and feet are rubbed with a small piece of black stone. Both men and women clean the teeth with their fingers, pieces of rag, or European toothbrushes. The hair of a [826]
woman's head, on the other hand, is almost never cut or trimmed, and its length and richness are thought to be outstanding attributes of feminine beauty. Whenever two [574]
women quarrel, one often cries out "your hair will be cut," a promise of great catastrophe for her opponent.

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandus

At an early age, a girl begins to wear a number of braids, and, save when undue in the bath, this type of coiffure is retained until death. The number of braids varies, and is usually about ten. The hair is regularly stained a reddish colour with henna whose use, in addition to being purely customary, is said "to fortify the scalp." In some houses, kohl, a finely powdered sulphide of antimony moistened with water, is applied to blacken the edges of the eye. European cosmetics and perfumes appear in most of the wealthier homes, and younger women paint their lips and nails. Reddening the hands and feet with henna, a custom for both sexes at a wedding, is not an everyday practice. The so-called "Baghdad boil," reported to be caused by larvae laid by a type of fly in the skin, usually of the face, is the bane of women in cities such as Baghdad or Mosul because of its hideous scar. It is not found in this area, nor is the technique used to prevent it from occurring on the countenance, artificial infection of the ankle or calf of a child. For menstruation clean pieces of rag are used as towels, and sexual intercourse is prohibited during the period. The cloths are commonly washed and reused. Tattooing is denied by most men to be done by women of the town, but it is possible to observe daily female residents of the lower classes with blue dots or marks inscribed on their faces. These are either transient servants or migrants from the villages where the use of tattooing is frequent. In the

302 [515]

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841 [833]

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and representatives of the same nation, totalling several millions, are hard by in Iran, Syria, and Turkey. There is some cause for apprehension as there have been no less than six armed Kurdish rebellions, some common to several of the four governments involved and quelled with difficulty, in the past twenty-five years. As in the case of most of the population, the royal family of Iraq is Arab and the language of government is Arabic. The spectre of Kurdish nationalism strikes terror in the hearts of government officials, and there is little love lost between Arab and Kurd. Many of the Kurds regard the Arabs as unlawful rulers, at the same time scorning them for the poverty and filth to be found in southern Iraq. "Are you an Arab?" a Kurdish man or woman often challenges a dirty child of the village, "Go wash yourself." On their part, the Arabs, particularly those of the upper classes, following the tradition of Xenophon, regard the Kurds with a mixture of fear and disgust. "Why do you waste your time with those people?" the investigator was asked by an Arab official, "they are all bandits." In spite of these things, there is no bar to intermarriage between the two groups, and any Kurd can rise to great prominence in the government service, although he is a priori under suspicion. In 1951 two of the fourteen provinces in Iraq were directed by Kurdish governors, and the command of the army unit at Rowandus was for a time given to a Kurdish staff officer.

In addition, there is a certain amount of rivalry between persons of different provinces or cities, for

which the mu'azzin calls the townspeople to prayer. To 346
the right of the porch, on the street leading up through [312]
the bazar, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those [515]
desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts no minaret or tower from which the mu'azzin might give his call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly, [539]
it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and [521]
one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers, seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes, [789]
smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may [511]
sleep on its floor at night if they wish. It is commonly [485]
held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exercises, as in those of the cities, was a result of Ottoman influence, and it is interesting to find its secular uses preserved in Rowanduz. The other three mosques in the town are nondescript rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One 346
of these, the women's mosque, is found above the bazar near 562
the civil officials' club, and is notorious in town life [521]
as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it. 559
Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosques 346
771

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[1] Massebert, 1951, pp. 14-17.

themselves teach the child the minimum essentials of the religion at home, the testimony of faith, the Fatiha or opening chapter of the Quran, and the ritual of prayer. Beyond this parental instruction many do not proceed. Girls may also attend religious classes of their own in the summer, identical in content with those given the boys. Religious training at Rowandus enjoyed a high reputation in the district, and, unlike the government schools, was attended by poor youths from the agricultural villages who sought a religious career. Just as a mulla is not formally ordained, there is no ceremony of confirmation in Islam, and, after circumcision, a boy simply "grows up in the faith."

Prayer is required five times daily of every Muslim, male or female. The times of prayer come at dawn, a few minutes after noon, a point approximately between noon and nightfall, a few minutes after sunset, and at nightfall. In addition, an extremely pious person may add two prayers during the night. One must be in a condition of ritual purity to pray, and the usual requirement is the lesser ablution (wudu) which consists of washing the face, hands, and feet. Major pollutions, of which sexual intercourse is outstanding, demand the greater ablution (ghusl), a complete bathing of the body. When in a state of purification, the worshipper stands facing in the direction of Mecca at the appointed time, and, placing his hands open on each side of his face, intones the phrase

342 capitals, which were a primitive form of the classical, voluted capital. From this side of the loggia two wooden doors each lead to a rectangular room with large, low-sited glass windows looking out on the loggia, and two windows placed high, facing the courtyard of the family house and the property's outer wall, respectively. All windows had iron bars in front of the panes. A door connected the two rooms which had in their thick exterior walls niches of the same size as the windows. To the area of the guest house must also be ascribed a small cubic clay building on the opposite side of the road, built out over the lower-lying field—a latrine, subgrades, with a hole in the floor, intended for the male guests of the house. The family's latrine consisted of the garden basin's waste-pipe near the garden wall, and lay in the area of the farm. In the evening the farm's big gate and the narrow wooden door of the family house were carefully locked and bolted. The two buildings were then completely closed off from the guest wing, whose small windows facing the courtyard were placed so high in the wall that it was impossible through them to discern the slightest glimpse of family life in the two other areas of the property.

[3C4]

562 The combination family house and farm formed the frame for the women's daily life and domestic activities. They only visited the guest wing occasionally in order to clean up or receive female guests when the absence of the men provided an opportunity for them to use it for this purpose. A constant traffic went on between the farm and the family house, as the only water supply was the garden basin lying by the north-western corner of the latter, though in the area of the former. This was where all washing took place—food, cooking utensils, clothes, and the human body, and, as mentioned, the basin's waste-pipe near the wall was used as the women's latrine. The remarkable thing was that this water basin was also available to a certain number of the village women who here rinsed rice, washed themselves, relieved nature, and, finally, fetched the daily water supply for themselves and their families. This was carried away in clay pitchers, petrol cans or ram's skin containers. Some of these women took advantage of their errand at the basin to enter the area of the family house, either to pay a visit or to use the small transportable revolving stone quern for the grinding of salt, of rice for their flour, or of boiled wheat grain as a substitute for rice. However, just as many came merely to use the water basin. In the same way that the water basin, which constituted an absolutely essential supplement to life in the family house, lay in the area of the farm, so to a more remote of the dwelling house were certain objects whose function suggested that they should be stored in the area of the farm. Things like sickles, ploughs, and the large jar-shaped clay silos, were stored in the dark, windowless store room behind the main living room of the house and only with access from here.

343 [3I2]

The dwelling house, situated on a clay terrace, dug out of the terrain, with five high steps leading up to it, was of one storey only and had no cellar. It consisted of six rooms, three looking out on the courtyard and three behind. There were no windows in the back and side walls. The most central room looking towards the court represented the side-by-side, three-roofed layouts. The hard-packed earth floor was here covered by a thin, irregular and inadequate layer of cement. The two side rooms were a step higher than the central room and were entered from it. Both possessed two iron-barred, low-sited, glass windows overlooking the court. The western room had an irregular mud floor, the other a cement floor like that in the central room. In the eastern back wall of this oblong room two steps led up to a small door which opened on a little cupboard-like room, devoid of windows, with

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[3I3]

[text continues top of P 34 -- Analyst]

349 515 a common floor and a drain, plus a low bankiel from a big petrol drum. This was the hammām, the women bath. It was not used during the time (ca-July) I spent in the house. I was told that the petrol drum behind the wall was filled with water in the garden basin, brought in with petrol cans. The water was heated by a twig fire. The bathattendant himself and rinsed in hot water, the steam of which filled this small Turkish bath. The room in front of the bathroom was carpeted when I arrived. 342 Later in the summer the carpet was rolled up under the glass cupboard and stored. Only the two outermost of the three back rooms were used as set rooms, the one for grain and farm implements, the other, amongst other things, for bread. Thirdly one was connected with the open bayside by a door and a barred, window-shaped opening like wall. Here meat was hung from the ceiling or on an iron hook when, exceptionally, meat was in from one day to another, and here also was the nut in which the servant's child slept in the afternoon. A large spiral staircase with high, irregular clay steps, the front of which were edged by two, led up to a landing from which a lockable door (but, related on a great stone led out on to the flat clay roof of the family house. During the hot season one ate and slept here, and in view of the x made of it, this roof must be considered a part of the living accommodation. The wings of the farm house round the court contained the hatchroom, which lay in front of the compartment that in was served as a stable for goats. In the hatchroom, which [351] was separated from the court only by un-cloaked wooden sheets, was a modern jar-shaped baking oven, lined with clay. When not in use it was covered by a circular iron sheet. The cookhouse, where food was prepared and butter churned, have windows, but two doors opening on to the courtyard. It lay in the transverse wing just opposites dwelling house. Inside, against the back wall, was an [352] old stove, very seldom used. Along the cookie wall three shovel-shaped cooking pits of clay[1] were built up on the floor. On the low clay rim bordering the cooking pit, a triangular gridiron for the saucepan was placed under which a fire still-bought twigs was lit. In the wall opposite the cooking pits was a heavy wooden post on which 1 churn each, when in use, was hung. A similar wooden post fixed in the wall outside the entrance the cookhouse enabled churning to be done out of doors. Various sizes of copper vessels and saucepa, ranged on the inside, were kept in the cookhouse and the food was cooked there. However, the operations for the next phase elsewhere: on the clay floor of the dwelling house the meal was prepare or rice loaves were folded round lumps of rice and placed in the cooking pot. Meat and rice were cut at the working bench, where also dish washing after meals took place. What we understand another work was then distributed over several places and not assembled in one room or at one spot.

352 556 [513] *If it sometimes astonishes*[2] that an east complete lack of furniture is typical of the oriental house, but it cannot be said that this appli to the village sellers of the Kurdish aristocracy. In Sheikh Taffiz's big house there were three iron bedsteds, which, of course, did not correspond with the number of the members of the family. There were several iron be dress, where also tables, some of the older type, heavy, clumsy upholstered sofas and chairs with broad arms each with its own small, octagonal smoker's table, and some of the more modern kind, consisting of a set of green-painted steel furniture with plastic covers of the same colour. In addition there was a pair of wardrobes and a chest of drawers of thin veneer. The characteristic feature of this sheikh's home was not the lack of furniture, but the arrangement and use made of it.

G. Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in dowries in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the bride's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a bedroom. The articles of value and bridal in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalized in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[1], unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms. There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the cushioned mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married women, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be quite and dirty, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had reinvented, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The general or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[2], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a lighthouse centre of the family circle where this had "gathered round", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the workhouse by the light of a fire, or to read at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, who knew who was who unmistakably by characteristics of their forms, and who could see to bring, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the crude light from the lamp. In the city house of the village aristocracy sporadic European elements could be found: mirrors, balcony windows mounted with velvet curtains (only found on the

in between the street wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Tripoura there was an oil cooker and cooking pits built in the floor. There was electric light in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was domesticated, also as at Tripoura, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the three-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the entablement, either over the oil stove or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a concave iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the kitchen and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of showy wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasions moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no usual furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a student's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the great room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the two rooms, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves, but these had been taken out and replaced by hooks containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[4]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the entablature and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunks led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimaniyeh the two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Tripoura, was, as the side turned towards an adjacent transept, closed off by mats[5], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much privacy for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A considerable contrast was created between the extensive night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the other environments I did not experience meals being taken on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only [illegible] entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping patterns as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the house,

on a sheet of bread and grassed. Spoons were sometimes used to eat fresh cream (*kaymak*), but forks and knives were not used[1]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as food. The beverage drunk is ordinary or the low-distinguished *ayg*. Thirds are drunk from glasses if not drunk with a ladle from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal. Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

Cooking of water. Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds: clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2295), home-manufactured and slightly leaky, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left shoulder and supported by a raised right arm; there are also water skins, lined, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a big sheet, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the object on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the sheet, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a water sack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

Fuel supply. Fuel is scarce and is utilized extremely effectively. In the workhouse, both the clay-lined earthen earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed with whole branches broken from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of clay cooking pit[2]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there are odds of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[3]. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the iron, like coal, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Diyarbakır and in the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires and braziers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

Washing. During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, I was overseer with irregular intervals of up to 30°C (+22° C.), so I had an opportunity of watching the washing of persons in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Sorkun, a village of some altitude, a few men lit in a low cave in the wall under a terrace. This was all I experienced in the way of bathing. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[4] states that: "In winter the cattle basin is heated by an open fireplace in the centre; the smoke passes out (on this occasion) by a hole in the middle of the roof". Ewart[5] refers to: "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "I could endure a quick ... bread like "Lava" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Wilkinson[6] writes that: "En hiver, pour durcir, on place un brasier de feyan ou tabouret (*kursi*), on le recouvre d'une couverture" at least to enable us another moment ...".

Washing up and laundry. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soap also used for washing clothes. The sole domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water are the tea glasses while tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white and brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a tinn pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the basins. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat. Incidentally, few of the materials used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the coloured silk and artificial silk materials, lost a good deal of their beautiful appearance when coming into contact with soap and water. Those best suited were naturally the white and dark flowered cotton stuffs. In fact the cleanliness that constitutes an aesthetic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish woman. It was said that in the olden days, before European soap a grass root or soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco inside against moths.

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal or, in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing position is the exception, the squatting working position being preferred.

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the houses I lived in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani. Clay floor, mastylands and roofs were swept with a broom, *gesi* (E. 2278), made of two palm leaves tied together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and were together so that it resembled a fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The brush, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is bought in the city. The dust swept up, the *gesi* and refuse can, for example, be put in a paper can and emptied. During work the women move on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered with a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dry air. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacked on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the dustmore which shows, but there is no carpet beating.

Bedmaking. Male beds do not exist as a common factor. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning. The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the loggia, the roof, or wherever the family has chosen to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with branch-covered laths, resting, for example, on four parallel ones. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the sleeve-like, envelope-shaped, cotton cover, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a cuff around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, either.

[SC] [SS] running that the child was outside adult society. Children were obedient, unobtrusive, polite and industrious. They were never put to bed in the evening (apart from infants), but fell asleep where and when it suited them. If they had been taken by the women on a visit, they fell asleep in the course of the evening, and when the mother left the child was put on her shoulders, hip or arm and carried home. The children of the house fell in the door where tired, and were covered with whatever happened to be nearest at hand, often a prayer rug of goat's wool. Later, when the adults arranged their own quarters for the night, the children were carried to the mattress on which they were to spend the night. Everybody rose very early, the children when they awoke. Undressing at night was just as unknown to the children as to the adults, and the same applied in regard to the evening or morning wash. During the day the children were caught, given clean clothes, if necessary, and washed. When there was plenty of warm water in the house their hair was washed.

[SC] [K4] As the children always stayed among the adults they obtained all the sexual instruction they could understand, and became aware of all phases of life. In regard to conditions with Egyptian Arabs about 100 years ago, Lane[9] says that however much children were caressed and fondled, they had the deepest and most admirable respect for their parents. He adds that disobedience shown to parents is regarded by Moslims as one of the major sins. To round off the picture of the child's life among Kurds, which in the main agrees with Lane's account of conditions in Egypt, a few examples must be cited of children I met who suffered from difficulties of adjustment. This may serve to throw into relief what I have attempted to describe above as the reason why a child with the Kurds had in general a quiet adolescence devoid of psychic strain. Within the village aristocracy, Sheikh Taffa's youngest, 6 year old, son was cruel to the small birds he carried round in his pockets; he tossed the kids and tried to maltreat his donkey. When able to do so he also stole butter from the household store. His father treated him surprisingly gently and affectionately which momentarily restored his balance. But this child, the youngest male offspring, the mother tried to keep at the baby stage, whilst he in vain attempted to compete with his 13 and 18 year old brothers. He appeared to be quite an exception, created by various unfortunate contributory circumstances. That the children of the village tenant farmers attacked one, tried to run off with camera accessories, and showed in the beginning no spontaneous friendliness, must be attributed to the residual xenophobia also evinced by their elders when the European engineers arrived some years earlier to plan the building of the Dokan dam. It was said that from the village of Topzawa, where I came to live and from which workers were later obtained for the construction work, the Europeans had been fired upon. The same hostile attitude retained by the children I met with in the mountains near an isolated farm, where some little girls and women ran me and some boys on the way home with sacks of grass on their backs, threatened me and struck at me with their sickles before I was permitted to pass along the narrow mountain path. In the urban milieu I met a case where a subordinate Kurdish official's wife on an excursion with his superior's wife, married to the Arab assistant[1] in Sulaimani, feared that her boys had not behaved correctly to the children of the assistant, began hysterically to hit her children who were quite innocent of the alleged offence. It was said that this same woman, who appeared to be very unbalanced, got her children locked in at home for social reasons.

[SS] My interpreter and I had her 13 year old half-brother living with her at Topzawa, and later

does not mention that the man must pay any bride price. Nor does it quite agree with the information Lane gives about urban conditions among Arabs in Egypt, where he felt the wedding expenses of the bride's family equal the sum paid in bride wealth by the bridegroom, but states that the money expended by the former goes on furniture, clothes and trinkets for the bride, and that all this, called "jahaz", is the bride's personal property, taken with her in the event of divorce[19], whereas he makes no mention of the bride's family presenting any form of gift to the bridegroom and his family.

Wedding preparations. Of the bride's outfit the satin quilt and the quilted coats are made by male craftsmen in the bazar. On the other hand a seamstress came to the home where, under the supervision of the women in the family, she cuts out kirtles, long baggy trousers and jackets from the silk, muslin and brocade purchased in Baghdad and Sulaimani. When the material was cut out, the bride's step-mother, then a married woman, brought a large piece of loaf sugar which, with a sugar hammer, was crushed and strewn over the material. This was said to bring good luck.

The same seamstress cut out of a roll of English grey the skirts of genuine Kurdish form and the drawers given by the bride's family to male relatives of the bridegroom. The seamstress then rolled the pieces of material together, and left to sew them in her own home.

The day before the wedding in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani a woman arrived in order to remove all superfluous hair from the bride's body; whilst the bride herself removed the pubic hairs during a triple steam bath in the house's bathroom. Whereas an unmarried Kurdish girl, as with the Arabs, never shaves or removes hair from her body in other ways, she must from the time of marriage keep her body free of hair[17]. Hairs are plucked out or removed by smearing on a paste, the composition of which I was unable to discover. Dickson mentions a depilatory of this kind with the Badawi, a solution of zinc and arsenic[17] used by the well-to-do, whilst other women pluck out the hair with their fingers. Lane states that in Egypt women use a kind of resin called "khite shimar", which is smeared on in a melted state, whereas other women pluck the hairs out "after merely rubbing the part with ashes of charcoal"[18]. At another place Lane[17] refers to a depilatory, "rusmā", composed of quicklime mixed with about one eight part of orpiment. This powder is stirred in water to a paste that is smeared on, loosening the hairs in two minutes, after which it is washed off.

This removal of hair in my interpreter's family thus took place in the home with the help of an expert, and not, as reported by Granqvist about the Palestinian Arabs, in the public bath[20]. It was said that the bridegroom went through a similar process[17].

In the bride's home this form of beauty treatment in connexion with the marriage was of great interest to all the women there. This went so far that an aunt of the bride grasped her by the legs as she sat tailor-fashion in the courtyard, and attempted to overturn her in order to satisfy herself that the pubic hairs had been duly removed. It was possible to determine this as the bride that evening was not wearing Kurdish women's costume with wide baggy trousers, but a long, pink nightgown with puffed sleeves—a European phenomenon adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme, worn with a little jacket but without long trousers. Apart from this episode, which must be considered an indication of the extent to which a wedding, down to the last detail, is a family and not a private affair, Kurds

place without using the washing board stored at and lent out by the mosque, and not within sight of the mother. Her gift is a completely passive one. The ceremonies most consist of an unequal amount of pieces of cloth. Neither knife nor scissors are used to divide the material. Both the girl and the boy are carried from the house to the mosque, and then the burial ground, overlaid by a prayer carpet over the ceremonies. Children are carried by a male relative (mother's brother) only, accompanied by other men. Lamentations incompatible with Islam and the sacrifice of a fowl were practised in the condemned urban milieu. The sacrifice was not specially because a child was dead as in the past in Egypt, but because two deaths in the family had occurred shortly after each other and it was desired to avert a third in the near future. The mourning period for a child is a few days. The bathroom used for washing the corpse was shut for eight days afterwards. The women of the family visit the grave every Friday for five years, after which it is forgotten. Memorial cakes are distributed to friends and acquaintances in connection with a death. The mourning period for adults is two-three years. Visits of condolence take place for eight days when a child dies. The women of the family remove their ornaments and abstain from herbs during this time.

Fig. 61. Burial place with big tree outside the village, Tripolitania.

grave monitors, which in the evenings alternated with those of the men within the periods of the sunset and evening prayers.

The youngest girl I saw engaged in prayer was 17 years old, the 8–12 years old I did not see pray. The humble village women said her prayers at the places where she fetched water, where there was no opportunity to perform the small ablution. This consisted of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a downsliding motion of the palms to avoid splashing the clothes; the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand being passed over the hair as a symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the women lay on a rule first used the water hands, or the outflow of the spring from the watering place, as a barrier with subsequent washing of the private parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can step onto the large flat stone, usually to be found at watering places, provided as a substitute for the prayer rug and of which the same size.

The women in the advanced urban milieu of Sokotoland did not pray. I only came across one exception to this: my interpreter's younger sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the uneducated milieu, though the coming husband, like herself, was a trained school teacher, prayed industriously—at all events in the time preceding her wedding.

Among the uneducated women of Sokotoland one was very strict and punctual religious observance, at all events in regard to the afternoon, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer rug could be lent to guests, opportunity provided for ablution, and their respect accorded to the devotions of those involved. I noticed also that the women of the village aristocracy at Tsipawa were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an Iraqi engineer living in one of the houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this was not as convenient as the garden taps at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day served as dining, living and visiting the room for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest house by the men. The duty to give alms, I was practised in the aristocratic village home at Tsipawa. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by his hand being placed on the shoulder of the other, both had eager and their pierced into their begging bags, which they carried either in the waistband or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were given articles from the family's ample wardrobe before dismissing an eviction their wanderings from village to village. The women in the district's home, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not subjected to any restrictions in regard to the fulfilment of this duty, which sometimes the latter's blind gifter, even though the men of the house, the district and his younger brother, who also lived in the house, were away.

The result of this obligatory giving of alms in Sokotoland is that permanently-stationed beggars are able to exist on the charity of the men in the street. With a child lying in her lap a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black cone at the entrance to the mosque in the hope of benefiting from the zeal of many of passers-by. In the courtyard of the mosque itself, a badly-clothed girl was deposited every day by her parents in what looked like a European perambulator, with a bowl between her deformed hands. It was said that although there was a public institution for both the classes of beggars mentioned, they were able to manage better on the alms obligation ordained by the Quran than they would if they

Kurdish articles of clothing. It was said that the sanitary towels were washed by the young woman herself in private, but were publicly hung out to dry with all other articles of clothing.

Menstruation and intercourse in this connection were mainly a problem for the young unmarried girl. The long waiting period and successive pregnancies made the question of menstruation less topical for the married woman than is the case in our culture. During menstruation a woman is ritually unclean. She must not enter a holy place[1] (see p. 139), must not touch the Quran, which is the reason why it is hung up in the bedroom in a pouch specially sewn for it[2] (see p. 126). Only the big ablution of the whole body can make the woman ritually pure at the end of the menstruation period[3]. The big ablution is also necessary for married couples after intercourse in order to comply with the rules governing prayer (see p. 37). In consequence the Sunnis is kept informed as regards sexual relations[4].

Sufism among the Kurds. "They are Sunni", said both the Arab mayor of Sulaimani and the Kurdish qā'im maqām of Koysa with a mixture of contempt and horror about the Sheikh families in Tuyserkan and Sangaldj. The heads of these two sheikh families were brothers, both married to women born in Sangaldj. The sister-in-law of the one was married to the old sheikh at Sheikhān, lying in the valley between Ciaroukhand and the mountain of Pīre Magrūn. I was told that it was difficult to obtain much information about this sect. Those who had joined it in the hope of learning something about it, had later met evident no divulge its character and the vow connected with it, which were surrounded by the greatest secrecy. My interpreter suggested that as far as he was aware these consisted of deviations from the general Islamic rules governing decency, but could not supply any further information about these matters.

It was, however, he stated that it is not a matter of followers of Shāh Ismā'īl, the Pundit of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq, known in western Iran as Ahl-i Ḥaqq, whose adherents in Kurdistan are called Kakai and are found particularly in the district of Kirkuk, but on the contrary of an offshoot of the Sufi dervish order[5] Naqshbandīyah, Naqshbandiyah[6], founded in Bukhara in the 14th century by Mir Sayyid Bahā'ud-Dīn or Baha-uddin, and brought to Kurdistan in the 15th century by Sheikh Muslihud-Dīn[7] of the Sufi tribe. By him Ḥāji Ahmad, grandfather of Sheikh Mahmud, was later introduced to the Sufi "way", which gradually penetrated deep into remote districts of Southern Kurdistan.

According to Cornell[8], a group of Naqshbandī followers formed under Ḥāji Sheikh Arif a secret society for the practice of exorcism. The meeting place of the sect was the village mosque. In the back of this building, intended for ritual ablution, men and women bathed together naked. Later they meditated together in the mosque.

According to Edmonds[9] it was a certain Sheikh Ahmad Surūr of Sheikhān, near Sangaldj, a relative of the Ḥāji Sheikh Arif above-mentioned, who was said to have remembered or founded the "way" called "Dhikrī". This "way" was based on an ancient document "the Crown of the Mystics", and represented a radical deviation from the Islamic conventions laid down in the holy law, and the rules of piety. This "way" included transvestitism, bathing in common of men and women in the basin of the mosque, also in company with dogs, the wandering in the mountains of young men and women together, communities where lovely of wives were passed from hand to hand by these persons—in a

of blankets on the roof-tops began to move, then figures rose silently like ghosts from their midst. Above the masses of coloured clothing they wore, I could see the comely faces of women. They began to walk among their piles of blankets and shake sleeping children into wakefulness. These also rose up, wound several yards of coloured cloth around their waists and heads, stretched themselves, yawned, and silently descended rickety ladders to the courtyards below.

As the sun peeped over the rugged mountains the blankets moved again and men rose from among them, with large black moustaches and bright quick eyes, adding curved daggers to their many yards of waistband; they also disappeared silently below.

I gazed over the roof-tops to the sloping plain beyond, where lines of black dots were discernible coming from the pass over the hills. They were caravans bringing wood, tobacco and other produce through the night from distant villages to reach the market by dawn.

A few minutes later, when the roof-dwellers had washed their faces in the cold water of their courtyard tanks, the silence of the night ended as shrill screams of women reproaching their offspring broke the still air. Soon afterwards the guttural "*Hutu!*" of the caravanchis was added to the din as they drove their laden donkeys through the narrow lanes between the houses; then loud voices as people shouted down to them asking the latest news and the price of their wares.

The night has ended. Jerusalem is awake.

[text continued on p. 363(a)]

[p. 362 (c.)]